

wonders if the essential point is not the importance of gradualness. Neale died disappointed if undaunted; Backstrom looks with discouragement on the movement as it enters the twentieth century. Both may have been unnecessarily harsh. Neale's thought, often unacknowledged, did spread elsewhere with important results; many new types of co-operative activity have appeared and flourished; and there has been remarkable growth nearly everywhere but in Great Britain. One can even argue a case for the emergence during the twentieth century of a significant international movement with a considerable impact. In short, it was highly unrealistic for Neale to expect that his ideas on united diversity could bear fruit while he lived; but that does not mean that some of them would not be realized with the passage of time.

Such questions, though, should not detract from the stimulating analysis Backstrom has made, an analysis that hopefully will encourage examinations of both old and new questions about the history of the British co-operative movement.

Ian MACPHERSON,
University of Winnipeg.

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DAVID BLEAKLEY. — *Faulkner: Conflict and Consent in Irish Politics*. London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1974.

When Brian Faulkner became prime minister of Northern Ireland in March 1971, he acquired a place in history which entitled him to a political biography. This has been supplied by David Bleakley, a member of the Northern Irish Labour party, who joined his coalition government and consequently was qualified by experience to provide a critical but sympathetic treatment of Faulkner and his administration. More important, Bleakley's sense of history enables him to supply a useful comment on the forces at work in Northern Ireland in the 1970's.

Faulkner, like his predecessor, Captain Terence O'Neill, was a conventional political leader at an unconventional point in history. O'Neill had responded imaginatively, grasping for a compromise and, in doing so, lost the confidence of the Protestant Unionists on which his power was based. Faulkner faced the same problem that had defeated O'Neill, that of reconciling the "Catholic" and "Orange" communities of Ulster. In Bleakley's opinion, O'Neill's effectiveness was blunted by his aristocratic background and English accent. Faulkner had less obvious establishment connections. Coming from a wealthy Presbyterian family, he was educated at St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham, a famous public school outside Dublin where he became a friend of the son of William Butler Yeats, now speaker of the Irish Senate. After a year at Queen's University as a law student, Faulkner entered the family business in 1940 and remained a successful businessman until 1960. His love of horses, common to most Irishmen, and his enthusiasm for the Hunt, undoubtedly helped balance the political disadvantages of not having served during the war.

Faulkner made his way with difficulty in the Unionist Party, building his strength by close connections with the Orange Order, and convincing the average Orangeman that he felt and thought as they did. His intention was to use the confidence which he had built up over the years to create a system in which the Orange and Catholic communities could be equal partners in Northern Ireland. Like O'Neill, his approach was imaginative, inviting labour participation that included David Bleakley into his government. In the spring of 1971, it appeared that he would succeed.

The difficulty was the intensification of terrorism in the summer of 1971. Bleakley believes that Faulkner's decision to accept the advice of the security forces to intern

suspected terrorists was a mistake. It certainly lost him the confidence that he was beginning to win in the Catholic community, and did not bring the I.R.A. under control. Yet it is difficult to see how he could have retained the confidence of protestant Ulster if he neglected to take what seemed obvious measures against terrorism.

After continued terrorism led to direct rule from London, Faulkner was able to regain much of the ground he had lost, and again became chief of a re-constructed government of Northern Ireland in December 1973. The essence of his policy was full rights for the Catholic minority in the Six Counties while postponing indefinitely the question of union with the south. It did not provide the much desired political solution to terrorism. North Irish candidates supporting Faulkner were defeated in the Westminster election of March 1974, and Faulkner resigned when faced with the protestant-inspired general strike in May.

The story, well told by Bleakley, is supported by a useful appendix of Faulkner's writings and speeches. The author clearly believes that Faulkner deserved to succeed and seems to suggest that he is the once and future leader of Northern Ireland. Yet Faulkner remains a conventional political figure, preaching compromise, while the terms of the I.R.A. are "unconditional surrender". Although the Orange community prefers conventional leaders, and it may be doubted that O'Neill's aristocratic background was a real handicap, where questions affecting the security of the protestant community are concerned, Orangemen will turn to extremists or act spontaneously under local leaders. Faulkner perhaps understands this, and that is why he remains an influential leader among the fragmented Unionists today.

Hereward SENIOR,
McGill University.